Equal Rights

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Doris Stevens

Generations yet to come will honor Doris Stevens, whose statesmanship and diplomacy at Montevideo resulted not only in the adherence of twenty-one American Republics to the Equal Nationality Treaty and of four Republics to the Equal Rights Treaty, but through whose vision and determination these Treaties have now been declared open for adherence by the whole world. As stated by Dr. James Brown Scott, President of the American Institute of International Law, the Stevens Equality Pacts "are but the beginning of her diplomatic negotiations for equality in the world at large."

Equal Rights

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 1]
[House Joint Resolution Number 1]

Introduced in the Senate March 10, 1933, by SENATOR JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Delaware.

Introduced in the House March 9, 1933, by REPRESENTATIVE LOUIS LUDLOW, Indiana.

Justice Is Our Plea

THERE have been moments in the past six or seven months when we have felt like shaking ourselves to find out whether we were awake or dreaming. One was when Doris Stevens, Chairman, and her little band of co-workers on the Inter American Commission of Women went down to Montevideo and secured the adherence of twenty-one American Republics to the Equal Nationality *Treaty*, not to forget the four Republics who agreed to the Equal Rights Treaty.

Another was when Alice Paul, who directs the destinies of the National Woman's Party, with her loyal fighting squadron succeeded in having the Equal Nationality *Bill* passed by House and Senate, in each case unanimously.

Hardly was this accomplished when the *Treaty* arrived from Montevideo, was dispatched by the State Department to the President, who promptly forwarded it to the Senate, where it is now under consideration by the Foreign Relations Committee. So close to the goal and with the Equal Nationality *Bill* passed by unanimous vote, can there be any question—in view also of the fact that every nation on the Western Hemisphere, Canada alone excepted, has agreed to the principle of Equal Nationality—that the *Treaty* will likewise be unanimously ratified?

Heretofore great statesmen have striven to have their policies benefit only their own nations. Witness Bismarck, Gladstone, Richelieu, Disraeli, Metternich, and even our own immortal Washington. But if ever there was an argument that women have their own distinctive and characteristic contribution to make to human welfare, and that therefore men can never take the place of women if the race is to reach its highest development, it has been proved beyond peradventure of a doubt by the two women statesmen, Alice Paul and Doris Stevens. From Geneva, Alice Paul called to the women not only of America, but also of Europe and Asia, to demand to be allowed to walk erect as human beings before the law. At Montevideo, Doris Stevens prevailed upon the emissaries of twenty-one Republics of North and South America to agree to the principle that the aegis of nationality shall protect men and women in equal degree.

The ideal of these two women statesmen is therefore not hemmed in by national boundaries. It is not only American women whom they want to see on an equal legal footing with men, but all women. Their thoughts are racial, rather than national. The cause of Equal Rights is one that affects not only women, but men as well. If in the small unit of the family, one child is favored by being allowed greater freedom and opportunities than the others, injustice results not only to the ones discriminated against, but also to the favored one. Unless he is a super-child, his nature becomes warped, intolerant and selfish. All the more credit is therefore due those men who are working with women to have the scales of justice correctly balanced so that the rights and privileges granted by human society to man will weigh neither more heavily nor lightly than those accorded to women.

Within their own country and on every available international front, these two great Feminist statesmen, with resources as limited materially as they have been unbounded spiritually, have fought the good fight for the benefit of the whole human race, today and tomorrow "to the last syllable of recorded time." Among the prophets and seers the idea of universal brotherhood has been acclaimed from age to age, but their voices—even that of the Greatest among them—have often fallen on deaf ears. But where among the statesmen of recorded history is there one with a vision as all-embracing as that of Alice Paul and Doris Stevens?

Perhaps it is because women have not had any training in diplomacy with its turnings and twistings, its pussy-footing and time-serving, that they make such a direct approach to their problems and their solutions. For solutions, unless all signs fail, are coming closer each day. Even as the call to the womanhood of the world went forth from Geneva, so Pan America has now issued a challenge to the family of nations. We refer to the action taken, May 11, at the Pan American Union in Washington, when the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board of the Union "reached the conclusion that in view of the apparent intent of the Conference" (Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo) "as evidenced by the antecedents and the wording of the Convention and the general applicability of its provisions, Article 5 of the Convention on the Nationality of Women permits the adherence of any non-signatory State."

We are not dreaming. Thanks to our great Feminist statesmen, we may in the life-time of our own generation see the word justice in its particular application to women written in illuminated letters on the statute books of every nation.

Miss Stevens' Latest Diplomatic Negotiations

By Dr. James Brown Scott
President of the American Institute of International Law, President of the American Society of International Law, Former President of the Institut de Droit International.

THE Stevens' Nationality Convention adopted at Montevideo has now spread its wings ready to cross the ocean. It is open to the nations of the world for adherence. Miss Stevens' diplomatic negotiations were not ended at Montevideo as the uninitiated might suppose. The negotiations after the conclusion of a conference are often of equal and sometimes of greater importance than those which have taken place within the conference. The necessity to obtain the ratification of the Treaty by the nineteen American signatories and the adherence of the remaining two American Republics will call for additional diplomatic negotiations. But that is not all.

As the Treaty is, by the action of the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, decided May 11, open to the world, negotiations on a larger scale than merely continental, are the next order of the day. It is, indeed, fortunate that Miss Stevens who caused the Treaty to be concluded at Montevideo — appropriately bearing her name—was available in Washington and at the disposal of the members of the Governing Board and its various committees when this question of open adherence was raised. It is fortunate that the Inter American Commission of Women is located in the Pan American Union and at the disposal of the Director General when questions arise concerning the Stevens treaties, on which she speaks with special authority, having negotiated their conclusion.

Shortly after the close of the Conference, inquiries began to pour in upon the Commission asking if the Treaty was open to non-American States. Likewise came reports that the Secretariat of the League of Nations had answered inquirers that it was of the opinion that being a Pan American treaty it was closed to other powers. It therefore became necessary to clear up this point without delay. It is true that treaties adopted at Pan American Conferences have usually concerned matters of special interest to the American Republics, and therefore no non-American power has ever adhered to a Pan American treaty. Hence it was necessary to get an authoritative ruling on this, if a departure from tradition was to be had. With her sure touch, Miss Stevens undertook to obtain such a ruling. She was obliged to don again her diplomatic armor to open the Treaty to the wide, wide world.

"Some said, 'John, print it'; others said, 'Not so.'

"Some said, 'It might do good'; others said, 'No'."

Now there was also adopted at the Seventh Conference a resolution known as Resolution LXIII which reads as follows:

"The Seventh International Conference of American States,

"Resolves:

"To suggest to the Pan American Union that it study, through such channels as it may deem necessary, the advisability of permitting the adherence of States which are not signatories of conventions signed in the Pan American Conferences, and which are not members of the Pan American Union."

PAN AMERICAN UNION

Washington, D. C.
May 12, 1934.

Dear Miss Stevens:

I beg to inform you that at a meeting held yesterday morning the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union gave consideration to the report of the Committee on the "Ratification of Conventions and on the Adherence of Non-Signatory States." This Committee had been asked to give special consideration to the Convention of the Nationality of Women signed at the Seventh International Conference of American States.

With reference to this particular convention and without presuming to establish a precedent for other inter-American agreements, the Special Committee above referred to reached the conclusion that in view of the apparent intent of the Conference as evidenced by the antecedents and the wording of the Convention and the general applicability of its provisions, Article 5 of the Convention on the Nationality of Women permits the adherence of any non-signatory state. This conclusion was unanimously accepted by the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board.

Very cordially yours,
(Signed) L. S. Rowe,
Director General.

Miss Doris Stevens, Chairman,
Inter American Commission
of Women,
Pan American Union,
Washington, D. C.

A sub-committee of the Governing Board had already been appointed to study and draw up a report under this resolution. Its three members were at work, but unaware up to this moment, that a question demanding a prompt answer had been asked. "Some said" this made a decision impossible until the Eighth Conference five years hence. "Others said" a conference of plenipotentiaries representing the Pan American States who are members of the Union might be called before that to declare themselves on this point! With customary distaste of diplomatic red tape, Miss Stevens had other ideas. She seems to have taken the position that no one had been in a better position than she had been, to know on what terms this Treaty was agreed to; what jurists are pleased to call the "intent of the parties." This she proceeded to set forth to the diplomats, irrespective of subsequent rules, reports and policies which might be declared five years hence.

On April 28, to be exact, she took the whole matter up first with His Excellency, the Minister of Panama, who, together with the Ambassador of Brazil and the Bolivian Minister, formed the subcommittee at work on Resolution LXIII. Dr. Alfaro thought the matter could be settled expeditiously and was himself strongly in favor of extending the benefits of this Treaty to the world. I may remark in passing that Dr. Alfaro, as former President of his country, has negotiated treaties under his own authority and likewise is familiar with diplomatic vagueness which may sometimes obscure intent. So Miss Stevens was in excellent hands in presenting her case.

Briefly the facts were as follows: This convention received its pledges of support among the delegates at Montevideo, for the original text of the draft printed in the Commission's report. The original text contained the following clause:

"This Convention shall remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all States of the world. . ."

The Seventh Conference was no exception to the rule that at all international conferences, there is, of necessity, a drafting committee whose duty it is to put texts in final form for signatures. This drafting committee edited the original text to which the delegates had agreed, and, in fact, the only text they ever saw until the day of signing, to read as follows:

"Article 5. The present Convention shall be open for the adherence and accession of the States which are not signatories. . . ."

On the face of this final text, which was signed by the plenipotentiaries, it would appear that the signatories had not signed a document which in its terms excluded any nation in the world from adhering, if it so desired. But Miss Stevens did not have to rely on the text. She was able to relate to the diplomats here how many delegates to the conference had raised this very point and insisted they would support the Treaty only in case it was intended for the world. No one, it seemed, had intended to sign a closed treaty. And always the relevant clause in the original text was shown with its

specific terms making the Treaty open to the world and this text silenced their objections on this point. Furthermore, Miss Stevens had called to the attention of members of the drafting committee of the Conference the doubtful terms used in their final text of Article 5. To this the drafters had replied that their text was merely a condensation of the Commission's original text.

Space forbids going into all the proof that was marshalled; all the negotiations which followed. But the result is important. The sub-committee, after two meetings, unanimously recommended to the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board that this Treaty permits non-American adherence. The Supervisory Committee, after three meetings, unanimously concluded that it did. For those not familiar with Pan American procedure, the Supervisory Committee of the Governing Board is a kind of Secretariat with power to act during recess of the Governing Board, which does not meet again in this instance, until November. It is at present composed of the following persons: the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State and Chairman, and the diplomatic representatives in Washington of Chile, Uruguay, Panama and Honduras. The Director General of the Pan American Union was asked to communicate the conclusion of their deliberations to Miss Stevens as Chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women that she in turn might reply to all interested persons or organizations. [The Director General's letter to Miss Stevens appears on page 131 in this issue.]

And so between the night of the 28th of April and the morning of the 11th of May, when the last meeting of the Supervisory Committee took place, and declared the Treaty definitely "open," this important decision was taken. Having had some little experience with diplomatic negotiations, the writer thinks this is a record for diplomatic speed, efficiency and enlightenment on the part of all who participated. The Americas have again taken leadership and in the right direction.

One final observation. It has now been made possible for the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality at Geneva, to renew its efforts, begun after the 1930 Hague debacle, to obtain the adherence of States who are members of the League of Nations. It is to be hoped that now their labors may meet with early success as they now have a continental treaty to lay before the League and its member States. Now the men of the Old World will have to meet the challenge of the Western World with its duly negotiated Treaty open to their adherence.

Queen Mary of the Scots expressed the opinion that her end was to be her beginning. In like manner and with equal truth it may be said that the end of Miss Stevens' diplomacy at Montevideo, which procured for a continent the Stevens Equality Pacts, is to be but the beginning of her diplomatic negotiations for equality in the world at large.

Eternal Vigilance Is the Price of Liberty

(As Told to the Editor)

LITTLE by little we gather in the colored threads of dramatic moments during the Montevideo battle for the adoption of the Equal Nationality Treaty. Probably the whole story will never be known. It would take a thick book to record all that happened, Doris Stevens tells us, and she has no time even to set down notes for the future historian. Here are two episodes, both grave and humorous, worth recording at this time when the Treaty is about to be considered by the Senate.

When recently the certified copies of the six conventions and one protocol adopted at Montevideo arrived in Washington, it was found, according to Miss Stevens, that only one other treaty— that of the Rights and Duties of States—has as many signatures as has the Equal Nationality Treaty, namely, nineteen, which includes all except those of Venezuela and the absent Costa Rica. These two treaties received the most thorough-going attention of all the acts of the Conference. They were, therefore, signed after ample comprehension of their importance. The other agreements received varying numbers of signaturs ranging downward from eighteen to *three,* the lowest number.

All experienced diplomats know that it is one thing to get an agreement adopted by a vote of the Conference. It is another to get the signatures attached. These are two entirely separate steps in the life of a multilateral treaty. Miss Stevens is not one to fail to see an endeavor through to the last detail. This was a case where vigilance was of paramount importance. A plan was worked out to cover all emergencies.

The hour for signing fell in the late afternoon of December 26. The place chosen for the signing was a special chamber in the Legislative Palace. Signing is the ultimate conference act. Into this special chamber the plenipotentiaries of the Americas repaired. Into the same chamber along with them went Doris Stevens, Fanny Bunand-Sevastos and Ella Riegel. Well inside the chamber before the guards took up their posts at the door to scrutinize those who entered and to keep out all non-delegates, if the women, in their concentrated earnestness, gave it a thought at all, they did not anticipate that they might be unwelcome. In business-like fashion they began to superintend the signing of the two treaties for which the Inter American Commission had led in battle. To their great astonishment, their coöperative labors were not appreciated by the officers of the Secretariat in charge of the ceremony. Loud, firm, oft-repeated orders in Spanish: "Clear the room of all non-delegates!" rang out above the murmur of voices around the table. Quite helplessly, delegates were trying to separate the wheat from the chaff and find the particular documents which each wished to sign. The women disobeyed. Louder went up the cry of the agitated official. From his point of view he was quite right. But so were the three determined women. Perhaps they did not understand Spanish! The official tried again, but with a losing note in his voice. Surely these women had ears! They stayed. How unreasonable women are! And how really polite the Latins are!

Now precisely what were the women doing? On a spacious, superbly beautiful table across which fell pale streaks of final rays through the stained glass windows, as dusk gathered and the summer evening approached, was spread the delicate handiwork of the calligrapher, exquisitely penned—the texts of the documents in the four official languages of the Americas—Spanish, English, Portuguese and French. There was inevitable confusion and much haste. Trains, boats, airplanes were beckoning eager delegates. Most of them would depart immediately after the ceremony. Time was precious to everyone inside that room. Suppose a delegate inadvertently overlooked one document. A signature might be missing, requiring delay and additional effort to overtake the person, or, failing that, getting another plenipotentiary to fill in the gap.

With quiet precision, Ella Riegel had taken up her post on one side of the table, her task being to watch only the Equal Nationality Treaty; keep its copies well in hand and see that all who intended to sign, did so. In her hand she held the special pen of lavender agate mounted with silver, later presented to the Commission for historic preservation. As each delegate approached her post at the table, above the din and noise, Miss Riegel could be seen by gestures, extending the pen and gently inviting each to sign with it rather than with another. Now the official became really alarmed. "Only plenipotentiaries have a right to sign the documents!" he called out, with scowls at the persistent and unreasonable Miss

Riegel, who went right on extending the pen to the next delegate approaching the mass of documents. Spanish imprecations! Seeing that the alarmed official was fearful that each time Miss Riegel extended the pen, she herself was about to sign, Miss Stevens explained in broken Spanish that this was a special pen and they were merely giving the delegates the opportunity to sign with a pen that would some day be a symbol of an act of immense historic importance. The mighty pen, mightier than the sword! Instantly the officer melted and became coöperative. At that time it was not perceived that this was more than a pen ceremonial. The Secretariat of the Conference has lived to feel gratitude for the vigilance of three women which got their document properly signed without any "round-up later" on the part of the Secretariat.

Meanwhile Miss Stevens was likewise engaged on the other side of the table, a bronze pen for her weapon, tending the signing of the four-power Equal Rights Treaty, and ironically enough preventing plenipotentiaries from signing the Treaty when they attempted to do so inadvertently and when Miss Stevens knew that their respective Governments had not consented to this Treaty. "One of the greatest temptations I'll ever face," said Miss Stevens, "was telling men that unfortunately they could not sign this one. Treaties signed by delegates who have not power to sign are invalid," said Miss Stevens ruefully. Presently it was observed that one of the plenipotentiaries who was to sign the Equal Rights Treaty was missing. Out into the great hallway Miss Sevastos dashed in search of the missing delegate. Back she came with the delegate at her side. Another argument with the guards at the door! But Miss Sevastos does not take "no" for an answer. While the guard still protested, she slipped in with her delegate. Miss Stevens was ready with the bronze pen. The delegate sat down in the waiting chair and carefully read every word of the Treaty and signed.

Anne Carter was trying meanwhile to find the Palace's only photographer to record the historic events. He was invisible. Another dash around the hidden recesses of the vast Palace and she returned with the photographer. Cuba was signing. "Take Cuba," a voice said, "while signing." The photographer protested he couldn't take a delegate's back. There was no time for posing, he was told. "Take Cuba's back," was the woman's answer. No time for protocol. In another second Cuba would have signed and be off to the pier and aboard a ship. The photographer, convinced he was dealing with "unreasonables," took Cuba's back and a very realistic picture it made. In a twinkling Cuba was off, having signed only the Spanish and not the English copy. Another detail had to be arranged. The signing finished, permission from the Secretariat was obtained to take the English copy to the retreating Cuban delegate's boat. Down to the pier went Ella Riegel and Anne Carter. The English copy was signed aboard and returned to the Secretariat's archives.

Another episode points a moral in vigilance. Well toward the end of the Conference a message was sent to Miss Stevens to go at once to a session of the Second Commission, where they were discussing incorporating the dominant article of the Equal Nationality Treaty in the other general convention on nationality. Across the Legislative Palace Miss Stevens fairly leapt, and up to the trusty Mexican delegation's benches. At the same instant the delegates were voting Benjamin Cohen of Chile power to incorporate this article in one comprehensive convention on nationality and the session closed. Miss Stevens went into action. Hastily she scanned the draft of the general treaty. She protested to Mr. Cohen and to J. Reuben Clark of the United States delegation that this must not be. There were controversial articles in the other convention which would receive scant support and limit the number of signatures obtainable to the women's treaty; the women did not intend to carry on their backs the burdens of these controversial articles which had nothing to do with equality; their treaty was intended to embrace the world; the general one was Pan American only; there were features unacceptable to European nations in the general one; and finally there was no provision in the general one covering equality between mothers and fathers in their right to transmit nationality to their children; it covered only the provision of equality for married persons, and that provision stipulated the way in which equality should be enacted into the laws of each signatory, whereas the women's proposal left each nation free to choose its own method of bringing about equality; the women's was more flexible. Her arguments prevailed. Mr. Cohen agreed to report to the session when it reconvened, that he would withdraw his proposal of incorporation, and did so.

It was a narrow escape from a well-intentioned maneuver which would have proved disastrous to the women's treaty, as subsequent developments proved. This general nationality treaty is the one which secured *three* signatures—the lowest number of any—those of Chile. Uruguay and Ecuador. There is, of course, no way of knowing how many signatures — or rather, how few — the composite treaty would have got, if the proposal to incorporate had not been intercepted. Can it be possible that some delegate had a wholly unconscious thought that the final, hearty approval of the women's treaty, already unanimously approved by the Conference, might carry with it the men's less desired treaty on nationality? Could it be that they were incorporating theirs in ours? What they said was that they were incorporating ours in theirs. Miss Stevens says she was considered "unreasonable" at the time. But she admits to long thoughts since.

One wonders when men will learn that women can best be trusted to guide their own destinies where women's rights are concerned.

Maryland Branch Holds Annual Meeting

By a Member

SARAH TARLETON COLVIN, National Chairman, and Edith Houghton Hooker, Maryland Chairman, of the National Woman's Party, were keynoters at the annual meeting of the Maryland Branch of the Party, May 8, at the Woman's City Club in Baltimore.

They agreed on two main points which, they said, cannot be overlooked if American women are to attain and *maintain* complete self-hood. One is that the Party must strengthen its organization until every woman in the country becomes conscious of her inferior status and determined to raise herself to full citizenship. The other is that, once having succeeded in writing the Equal Rights Amendment into the Constitution of the United States, she must be forever on the alert to keep it there.

"It makes no difference at all what is written into the Constitution if that Constitution is done away with," warned Mrs. Colvin. And Mrs. Hooker referred to the "holocaust" in Germany whose Reichstag had more women members than any other parliament in the world, but where the rights of women, under the Fascist regime, have now been completely wiped away; and to conditions in Austria, "where they *wrote* Equal Rights *into* the Constitution and *erased* Equal Rights *from* the Constitution."

Mrs. Colvin, who was introduced by Mrs. Hooker as one of those who went to prison for suffrage, declared that organization was of paramount importance for the growth of the Feminist movement. The by-laws adopted by the Party in 1925, she said, were based on the old suffrage procedure and were badly in need of revision to make them more flexible. Among the changes she advocated was to have

the dues made payable one month before the annual meeting, instead of—according to the present plan—before the first of June. The National Chairman also takes much to heart the success of the magazine EQUAL RIGHTS and urged that the burden of its support should be shifted from the shoulders of individuals who—in addition to a too-limited number of subscribers—have generously contributed from their private means to its upkeep through a long period of years, to the general membership of the Party. She reiterated the stand taken by her on a number of other occasions that every member of the Party should be subscriber to its magazine.

"A paper," she urged, "that is national in scope should be supported by a large group. There should be an EQUAL RIGHTS fund, not subject to the call of the National Council, but belonging to EQUAL RIGHTS. I think we should have a stock company which will control the business enterprise of EQUAL RIGHTS. If we can get national advertising, the paper can take care of itself and go to all the members. Two dollars a year subscription is very cheap and yet it is too high for some of our members to pay in addition to membership dues. At the same time, we cannot possibly reduce the price until we gain enough members to enable us to get national advertising."

With renewed emphasis, Mrs. Colvin drove home her point that a large united host of women can do more than a "dramatic group who work themselves to death," not only to equalize the status of men and women but to keep it equal. She cited a recent experience in Minnesota:

"Senator Shipstead who belongs to the Farmer-Labor Party, my Senator, is up for re-election. When we went to see him about the Equal Nationality Bill, he was always very gracious, saying he was 'very much interested in your point of view.' Then the Farmer-Labor Mayor of St. Paul was defeated and our principal paper said that Republicans and Democrats must unite to fight the radicals in the Farmer-Labor Party. The result was that Senator Shipstead came out unequivocally for the Equal Nationality Bill, especially when he found that Norwegian women were interested, and that an article about the codes had been translated into the Norwegian language."

The National Chairman ended climactically: "We must have some form of national membership. We must change the whole psychology of women to get a large group of women who *refuse to do things against their own interests.*"

Sophie Nordenholz, State Treasurer, reported a balance on hand of $23.14. Her report was accepted subject to audit, Rose Zetzer and Mollye Rollman being appointed by the chair as the auditing committee.

Emma Maddox Funck, a pioneer of suffrage days and president of the Baltimore City Branch, spoke of a year of progress for her Branch which, despite extreme weather conditions, had held thirty meetings of which half were devoted to business, and the other half had been addressed by speakers. Mrs. Funck also expressed the need of a "strong organization." Women were suffering because of lack of solidarity not only in Germany and Austria, but such conditions were rapidly becoming world-wide, she said, adding that, just a few days previous, she had read an article by a Scotchman in which the writer seriously advocated polygamy in Scotland.

Florence Elizabeth Kennard, Mrs. Hooker said in introducing her, is "so good a corresponding secretary that Representative Palmisano of Maryland voted for our Nationality Bill." Miss Kennard added to her reputation for dependability by reporting that she had written about a hundred letters during the year and done "other odd jobs here and there."

FROM FARAWAY HELSINGFORS

Helsingfors, Finland,
May 14, 1934.

Dear Members of the Woman's Party:

There are no words in my English language to tell you how much it has meant to me to know you and to have been in contact with the great fighting spirit that pours out from the National Woman's Party.

You have accomplished so much and you will go on keeping the fire burning. I cannot tell you how much safer it makes us feel in Europe just to know that you all are fighting forward no matter what happens. And sometimes when things go wrong, in my thoughts I will make a pilgrimage to your dear club where I spent some of the most interesting days I ever experienced.

My gratitude knows no bounds for all you did for me and the delightful people that through you I came to know and enjoyed so deeply.

Thanking you from the bottom of my heart for all your kindness, believe me,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Kyllikki Pohjala,
Member of Parliament
of Finland.

The energetic Chairman of the Howard County Branch, Mrs. Reuben Finnell, has divided her interests during the year between building up a strong organization in her county and efforts to gain subscribers to EQUAL RIGHTS. She had arranged luncheons, and card parties to raise money for additional subscriptions to the magazine, to circulate among members whose savings were swallowed up in bank crashes. She said the magazines when bound together constituted a "book of history."

Helen Elizabeth Brown, well-known attorney and newly-elected president of the Business and Professional Women's Council, said that the Council had grown in membership and achievements. She called on Rose Zetzer to supplement her remarks, Miss Zetzer reporting that there were now 130 members enrolled, that dinner meetings had been regularly held each month, and that the Council had sent letters and telegrams to members of Congress in behalf of the Nationality Bill; also a letter to Judge Florence Allen, congratulating her on her elevation to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals bench.

Declaring that, because of their exclusion from jury service, Maryland women are still classed with "criminals, idiots and the insane," Mrs. Hooker called on Mrs. John Ogden, formerly of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, who has recently moved into Maryland, to tell how women are re-acting to jury duty in the Keystone State.

"Women in Pennsylvania have been ably performing their duty as jurors for fourteen years and have become a necessary part of its social system," said this earnest and charming newly-acquired member of the Maryland Branch.

"In the beginning, of course, there were the usual pre-Nineteenth Amendment arguments against the service of women on juries. It was 'too nasty a business.' Can you imagine the courts of law being 'too nasty a business' for women to take part in? Women temporize too much. A trained woman herself said she would not be capable of being fair. She was the mother of three children and I wonder what kind of an arbitrator she makes. When I think of her I remember a line in a prayer by Ruth Pratt Hale—'And, oh Lord, save that lady.'

"In 1920, in Pennsylvania, we said 'We'll stand together and take for granted that we also have the right to jury service.' Our law says 'qualified electors,' and the Jury Commission of our State said women were qualified. Just one county—Erie—of sixty-seven tried to prevent our serving, but Justice Shaffer said women had the right to serve on juries on exactly the same terms as men.

"What have women done with jury service in Pennsylvania? In my own county a jury was called with only one woman member. It was plain, after one true bill after another had been refused, that the jury was 'packed' with nine members. So the woman said, 'It is quite evident what is taking place in the Grand Jury, and I refuse to have any part in it.' The matter was brought before the judges, and meanwhile the woman was threatened. Then, suddenly, with public opinion going along with her, one true bill after another came rolling in from the same jury.

"Women in our county did away with the 'famous fifty' who waited at convenient posts to be called for jury service. They wanted better jurors in Delaware County. The judges now take a hand and are asking reliable people to submit names, and choose a juror only when they know he or she is willing to serve. A constitutional amendment was also introduced into the last Legislature providing that

'he' includes 'she.' The result of it all is that we now have fine jurors. In our first five years the percentage of women serving on juries was one-eighth; now it is practically one-half. And the judges feel that fairer verdicts are rendered now than before women served.

"The only distasteful thing I can remember during my service on juries was that once an old lady complained about a draft and we had to keep the windows closed. I have only seen *one* woman who was incompetent and I have seen *many* men. On one jury, in a case where the mechanism of an automobile was in question, three men knew nothing about it, and a woman explained it so thoroughly that they had no further difficulty.

"It is discouraging, after introducing so many bills in your Legislature, that you should still not have the right to serve on juries. The thing to do, of course, is to enroll women in this cause. I remember once at Bryn Mawr College that Dr. Anna Howard Shaw said that, contrary to popular custom, Jesus taught complete equality of the sexes."

Various suggestions for getting jury service for women in this State followed this excellent address. Mrs. Colvin proposed trying the issue again in the Supreme Court, Mrs. Ogden that insurance companies be approached for their cooperation, Helen Elizabeth Brown that candidates for office be asked to express their stand in writing before election. Hilda N. Dulac remarked drily that "men jurors develop a peculiar facility to sleep with their eyes open." At Mrs. Hooker's suggestion it was decided to "ask Mrs. Ogden to prepare a program of action."

"A woman who is working tirelessly to maintain Maryland's self-respect," was the description given by Mrs. Hooker of Mrs. George W. Morey of Chevy Chase, Montgomery county, who gave an entertaining account of lobbying experiences in Congress, and who expressed the view that "the more that go" (to lobby), "the quicker the vote."

"'But why don't you all come together?'" Mrs. Morey quoted one man who had been subjected to a continuing barrage of lobbyists approaching single file all day. "'Seventeen women',' complained the weary one, "'have been here since 10 o'clock'." Instead of giving him the expected sympathy, however, the lobbyist gleefully shouted, "Hurrah!" Where there were such numbers and persistence, quoth she, the Bill was bound to pass.

Mrs. Morey urged her hearers not to forego the "experience of lobbying and finding out how those men re-act to lobbyists." One of the funniest retorts coming to her from a legislator was: "If you have one nest of snakes in the country, why start another?" Mrs. Morey is still wondering what he meant.

She concluded her remarks by urging those present to do their utmost to secure the passage by the Senate of the Equal Nationality Bill, whereupon Elizabeth C. Forbes, Chairman of the Harford County Branch, proposed that the Convention adopt a resolution to ask Senator Tydings to bring all possible pressure to bear to get a vote on the Equal Nationality Bill and also asking him to support the Bill. The resolution was passed.

Louise N. Graham, president of the Baltimore County Branch, spoke of the good work accomplished by her Branch during the year.. Meetings were held once a month at the Health Centre in Catonsville, and the Branch had launched a program to study the lives of women who had contributed in some outstanding way to the advancement of women and to present the results of the studies in a series of biographical sketches at the meetings. Mrs. Graham reported a balance in the Treasury of $12.52.

Mrs. Hooker spoke of the imminence of the county fair season and urged keeping a petition for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in circulation at the fairs, a suggestion put into the form of a motion by Helen Brown, and carried.

The morning season came to a dramatic climax when Edith Houghton Hooker announced that an election of officers would be held and that she had refused to allow her name to be used in re-nomination for the State Chairmanship, declaring that she believed that "revolution in office was a most wholesome and tonic thing." The announcement threw the meeting into consternation and practically everyone present rose to protest. However, the Maryland Chairman, while admitting that she was "deeply touched," refused to change her decision, promising again and again as she was asked to re-consider, that her stepping out of the chairmanship would in no way abate her efforts in behalf of the advancement of women and expressing loyalty and confidence in the woman whom the nominating committee had chosen to succeed her.

The slate as prepared by the committee was presented by Elizabeth C. Forbes in the absence of Dora G. Ogle, the chairman. Those elected were Amelia Himes Walker, President; Edith Houghton Hooker, Vice President; Ida Kloze, Corresponding Secretary; Rose Zetzer, Recording Secretary; and Sophie Nordenholz, Treasurer.

An informal luncheon followed the business session, and at night there was a dinner at the Baltimore Country Club at which Helen Elizabeth Brown was toastmistress, and Representative Ambrose Kennedy, Democrat, Dr. J. Harry Schad, Secretary of the Young Republican League of Maryland, and Dr. Broadus Mitchell of the Johns Hopkins University, a member of the Socialist Party, discussed why women should join their respective parties.

Press Comment

All Discriminations Removed

Evening Journal, Wilmington, Del., May 11, 1934.

A BILL removing all discriminations against women in the nationality laws was passed yesterday by the Senate. It has been approved also by the House. Members of the National Woman's Party hailed the success of the measure as the outstanding achievement for Equal Rights since women won the vote in 1920.

Through enactment of the Cable law twelve years ago the nationality laws were changed so that women might retain citizenship although married to aliens, but they could not transmit that citizenship to children born abroad.

Besides granting mothers equal power to transmit citizenship, the new bill further equalizes the law for men and women in the matter of renouncing citizenship upon marriage with an alien (women have heretofore had this right, but not men); transmission of citizenship by naturalized citizens, and the time required for an alien marrying an American citizen to acquire citizenship.

The bill, introduced in the House by Representative Dickstein, of New York, was originally presented to the Senate by Senator Copeland, who spoke for it.

A statement issued at headquarters of the National Woman's Party said of yesterday's action:

"The struggle for equal nationality began immediately after the ratification of the suffrage amendment. By the passage of the Cable Act in 1922 the law was equalized so far as retention of citizenship upon marriage to an alien was concerned, but until yesterday mothers were denied the right exercised by fathers of transmitting their citizenship to children born abroad.

"The measure is in line not only with the country's policy of granting equal suffrage to women but with its nationality policy as announced on several previous occasions and recently embodied in the Equal Nationality Treaty signed at the Pan American Conference at Montevideo.

"Its enactment, it is held by the National Woman's Party, which has been the chief proponent of this legislation, although the principle has been endorsed by many other women's groups, will make the ratification of the Treaty, which, it is expected, will be presented to the Senate in a short time, a matter of form.

"It should also advance the efforts of the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality in Geneva of the League of Nations to secure the adherence of all other nations to the Pan American Treaty."

Asks Higher Pay for Men

New York Times, May 6, 1934.

MEN teachers should receive a much higher salary than women teachers for equal work, is the opinion of Dr. J. Ralph McGaughy, Professor of Education and director of the elementary education department at Teachers' College, Columbia University. This conclusion was voiced in a survey of the economic status of school teachers by Dr. McGaughy, the results of which were made public yesterday.

"Under equal pay, one or both of two unfortunate situations must exist," he said. "Inferior men will be drawn into our junior and senior high school teaching positions and the cause of good education will suffer, as it is now suffering in many communities for this very reason, or women teachers will be overpaid in the economic system.

"No board of education has the moral right to pay women teachers higher salaries than the economic demand for their services justifies. To do so is just as pernicious as to waste public money upon some other project for which there is no such well-organized sentimental propaganda."

New York City, Dr. McGaughy declared, is an "excellent illustration of this wasting of public money." He asserted that equal pay legislation "is costing the city of New York at least $3,000,000 a year more than would be expended under the natural workings of the economic law."

"As long as our professional and industrial organization remains as it now is," he continued, "there is bound to be a greater demand for the services of able young men than for the services of equally able young women. For the State to pass a law that men and women shall be paid equally is absurd."

The economic demand for the services of able men in New York forced the Board of Education to place the maximum salary for men high school teachers at about $4,000 annually, it was said by Dr. McGaughy, who added that the equal pay law passed by the Legislature forces the same salaries to women high school teachers.

"Not one woman in hundreds can command so high a salary in the competing professions and business positions in New York City," he said. "A great number of women high school teachers in this city are undoubtedly overpaid, in the economic sense, by at least $1,000 a year."

It was pointed out by Dr. McGaughy that when the salaries of high school teachers were raised it became automatically necessary to pay elementary teachers a maximum of about $3,400 a year to prevent unjustifiable discrimination between women teachers in high and elementary schools.

The whole problem must be reopened for discussion and a new solution reached "in the light of the unyielding workings of economic law," Dr. McGaughy added.

"Teachers will not secure salary schedules which are economically and scientifically sound until they conduct salary campaigns on some other basis than that of demanding special privileges for their profession," he said. "Sentimental hysteria about the noble, self-sacrificing service which they render and the supposed fact that those in their profession are chosen of God, somewhat as ministers are, should have no place in an earnest consideration of the salaries which should be paid to the members of a respectable, self-respecting profession."

Equal Work, Unequal Pay

The New York Sun, May 8, 1934.

DR. JAMES R. MCGAUGHY of Teachers' College, Columbia University, dislikes the law which prescribes equal pay for men and women teachers. He sighs for the good old days when man's feeling of superiority was gratified by a substantial salary differential. Every so often, therefore, he makes public the result of a "survey of the economic status" of pedagogues, proving to his own satisfaction that things would be better in this worst of all possible worlds if only the equal pay law were rescinded.

In his latest report Dr. McGaughy argues that no school board "has the moral right to pay women teachers higher salaries than the economic demand for their services justifies." More discrimination! If the law of supply and demand is to be invoked, why exclude men? Dr. McGaughy ought to be willing to sacrifice himself on the altar of his own logic. There is a vast oversupply of teachers of both sexes, from the kindergarten to the university lecture hall. Strict adherence to Dr. McGaughy's economic principles would result in further salary cuts for all.

Dr. McGaughy has the merit of frankness. He makes no assertion that men teachers are more skillful than their women colleagues. "Men are not better teachers," he said a few years ago in discussing the same question. "They do not render more valuable service. . . . The one insurmountable fact which makes it absolutely necessary, economically, to pay men higher salaries is the inexorable working of the law of supply and demand." Dr. McGaughy, however, has failed to answer the insurmountable argument that two persons giving service of equal value to the public ought to receive equal pay regardless of difference in sex.

News from the Field

Doris Stevens to Speak

DORIS STEVENS, Chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women, will describe the thrilling days at Montevideo last December, which preceded the adherence of twenty-one American Republics to the Equal Nationality Treaty and of four to the Equal Rights Treaty, at the dinner Saturday, June 9, of the Eastern Regional Conference of the Woman's Party at the Hotel Madison in Atlantic City.

Others speakers will be Florence Bayard Hilles, First Vice-Chairman of the Party; Arabel Clark, Chairman of the Regional Conference Committee; Sara B. Cummings, President of the Philadelphia Branch; Amelia Himes Walker, newly-elected President of the Maryland Branch; and Helen Elizabeth Brown, attorney, President of the Business and Professional Women's Council of the Maryland Branch.

The dinner will be given in honor of Mrs. Hilles, former National Chairman, as a recognition of her splendid work for the Party since and during her incumbency of the National Chairmanship.

In addition to the dinner, the program includes a business session at 2 P. M. Saturday, a conference of the National Student Council of the Party, called by Betty McGing, the National Chairman, Sunday morning; and a discussion of the problems of the Industrial, and Business and Professional Councils, particularly in regard to organization set-up, Sunday afternoon.

Though the Conference proper does not open until Saturday afternoon, those planning to attend are urged to take advantage of reduced week-end hotel and railroad rates by arriving Friday, and to hold informal little conferences of their own preliminary to the formal opening of the Conference proper Saturday at 2 P. M.

The committee of arrangements consists of Arabel Clark of Philadelphia, Chairman; Sara B. Cummings, President of the Philadelphia Branch, and Amelia Himes Walker, President of the Maryland Branch, Vice-Chairmen; Anne Townsend of Philadelphia, Treasurer; and Rosalie Murtagh of Philadelphia, Secretary.

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